

Neither Traditional, Nor Protean: Teacher Career in Entrepreneurial Faculties

Nem Tradicional, Nem Proteana: Carreira Docente em Faculdades Empresariais

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RESUMEN:

The Brazilian educational sector has undergone sharp changes when the private sector began to contribute significantly to the expansion of the offer of higher education. The change in the regulatory framework contributed to the emergence of so-called Entrepreneurial Faculties (FEs), which, unlike universities, offered education without the obligation and actions in research and extension, changing the work structure and, consequently, the career. This study aims to understand the career orientation dilemmas experienced by professors of the EFs. The problematization was made from the theoretical framework that differentiates two types of career: traditional and Protean. A qualitative study was conducted with semi-structured interviews with teachers of these institutions, analyzed through content analysis. The results show that teachers seek to broaden the institutional bond for the development of their careers in the traditional sense but perceive little space for this in the Entrepreneurial Faculties, requiring a constant career reframing to adapt them to the reality of these organizations. The results show that the nature of the work relationship in Brazilian FEs follows a trend already pointed out in international studies on the negative effects of the work structure on the formation of the professors' identity and their satisfaction with the teaching career.

KEYWORDS:

Carreira
 Docência
 Ensino superior
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ABSTRACT:

O setor educacional brasileiro passou por transformações quando o setor privado passou a contribuir expressivamente para a expansão da oferta de ensino superior. A mudança no marco regulatório contribuiu para o surgimento de chamadas Faculdades Empresariais (FEs) que oferecem ensino sem a obrigatoriedade e ações na área de pesquisa e extensão, alterando a estrutura de trabalho e, conseqüentemente, a carreira. O objetivo deste estudo é compreender os dilemas de orientação de carreira vivenciados pelos docentes das chamadas Faculdades Empresariais. A problematização foi feita a partir do referencial teórico que diferencia dois tipos de carreira: tradicional e proteana. Foi realizado um estudo qualitativo com entrevistas semiestruturadas a docentes destas instituições, analisadas meio da análise de conteúdo. Os resultados evidenciam que os docentes buscam ampliar o vínculo institucional para o desenvolvimento de suas carreiras no sentido tradicional, mas percebem pouco espaço para isto, sendo necessária uma constante resignificação da carreira para adaptá-las à realidade destas organizações. Os resultados também indicam que a natureza dos vínculos de trabalho nas FEs brasileiras segue uma tendência já apontada em estudos internacionais sobre os efeitos negativos da estrutura de trabalho na formação da identidade dos professores e na sua satisfação com a carreira docente.

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1. Literature review

The definition of career has undergone different transformations in contemporaneity, particularly from the new realities of the individual-company relationship. Under this environment, some theorists argue that the traditional career has been replaced by more flexible formats that intend to consider the interest of individuals and the need of these organizations (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996; Baruch, 2004; Hall and Mirvis, 1996; London and Stumpf, 1982). These changes would be the source of a break from the traditional model, characterized by linear and vertical progression and often associated with an idea of a lasting relationship between the company and the employee.

In this new context, the so-called zig-zag careers (Kilimnik and Castilho, 2006), the multidirectional careers (Baruch, 2004), the boundless careers (Arthur and Rousseau, 1996) and a protean or self-directed career (Hall, 2002; Hall and Mirvis, 1996) have emerged. Regardless of the terminology used, the studies converge on the following point: there is a discontinuity regarding the supply (responsibility) of the career by the companies, turning into a flexible environment in which the workers become responsible for the management of their careers (Dutra, 1996).

Thus, remuneration, stability, and, above all, being part of a 'community', provides space to 'career self-management' geared towards the 'psychological successes' of individuals who become responsible for their personal, professional, and family development (Fontanelle, 2005). Therefore, while the focus of the traditional career is on loyalty as a cornerstone for growth, the new model emphasizes autonomy, while, at the same time, holding workers accountable for their professional development and personal success (Bendasoli, 2009).

The present study attempts to understand the way these changes in the educational context have affected the career orientation of teachers associated with the so-called Entrepreneurial Faculties (EFs). Faced with a need to professionalize the teaching career (Lenoir and Morales-Gómez, 2016), its objective is to discern the dilemmas of career orientation experienced by teachers related to these institutions. The notion that major transformations have occurred in the Brazilian educational sector in the years 2000 is the steppingstone, a time when the country conducted a reform to extend the offer of higher education by authorizing the activity of the so-called Isolated Colleges, generally with an entrepreneurial nature. The term 'entrepreneurial' is commonly used to differentiate profitable from philanthropic higher education institutions (Mccowan, 2007; Neves, 2002).

These EFs, unlike universities, started to provide teaching without the obligation and actions in the field of research and extension. Analysis of data from the Higher Education Census (INEP, 2015) reveals that, after a decade, the private sector has 345.335 teachers, corresponding to 62% of teachers hired in the country. These changes established the conditions needed for the emergence of EFs, nurturing an education market in which these institutions act, competing for students, and aiming to increase the profitability and the growth of their Market Share (Sécca and Leal, 2008).

Within this contextualization, the objective of this study is to understand the dilemmas faced by teachers of EFs, to understand if career orientations are closer to the traditional model or the protean perspective. Studies carried out in other contexts have shown that career instability affects the participation and commitment of teachers in institutional goals and projects and, consequently, in the quality of teaching (Cetzal et al., 2020). The analysis of the existing literature revealed that this issue has been barely explored based on the Brazilian context (Carvalho and Alves, 2015; Medeiros and Siqueira, 2019; Neto et al., 2017; Ott and Cisneros, 2015; Rowe and Bastos, 2010; Sguissardi, 2017), particularly about the challenges for career growth and positioning.

1.1. Traditional career and protean career

The concepts of career development derive from the constructions of London and Stumpf (1982), Hall and Mirvis (1996), Hall (2002) and Hall and Heras (2010), which have been served as an orientation for studies over the last decades (Guan et al., 2019; Gubler et al., 2014).

Hall (2002) describes the framework of occupational changes as an identity expansion. Therefore, it may be affirmed that this expansion of identity is nothing more than the expansion of the psychic repertoire, which is the outcome of the relationships and experiences of the professional path. Thus, work has a meaning

that goes beyond livelihood, providing a sense of self-fulfillment and self-expression that rank higher than traditional career notions.

In this context, the concept of a self-directed career was created to define a process in which the individual, not the organization, is managing their career. Under this model, action strategies can be redirected at certain periods to meet the needs of the individuals (Hall and Mirvis, 1996). Therefore, the personal career choices and the self-directed quest for self-realization are the merging and unifying elements in their lives. Thus, the criterion of career success is internal rather than external.

Consequently, Hall (2002) establishes four different meanings that individuals apply to the term 'career': a) career as vertical mobility, regardless of the field, profession or organization; b) career as a profession, such as doctor, lawyer, teacher; c) career as a sequence of jobs throughout life, based on the principle that all workers develop a career, regardless of an up/down direction; and d) career as a sequence of experiences related to life functions, not limited to professional functions.

For Motta (2006), the definition of the concept of career must consider not only aspects of the individual as a worker, but also life factors of the individual. The definition of career may involve the perspective of development since regardless of organizations, careers are constructed as a sequence of individual perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors that allow one to identify development and success in an individual's work and life experiences (Motta, 2006).

Recently, studies have pointed to the decisive aspects of protean career concepts in an empirical analysis (Wiernick and Kostal, 2019) and similar definitions as boundless careers (Budtz-Jørgensen et al., 2019). In a critical perspective on the implications of the protean model in the professional realm, McDonald and others (2004) propose a differentiation that helps to understand this change: while the traditional career model is focused on the orientation that the employee values and serves an organization, the new model emphasizes worker autonomy and responsibility. Moreover, while the traditional career focus is on loyalty as the basis for growth, the new model provides only opportunities for the development of skills and knowledge (McDonald et al., 2004).

The study of Balassiano (2006) reveals that, when adopting the concept of a protean career, individuals tend to weaken the psychic contract of loyalty and interaction with the company to which they are bound. Working in unstable environments, with rules that hold employees accountable and overburden the employees with goals, tend to lean towards faithlessness and relationship rupture. In many cases, the worker sees this relationship as utilitarian on the part of the organization and ends up directing their action to retort through an 'eye-for-an-eye' perspective (Balassiano, 2006).

1.2. The teaching career in higher education

The subject of teaching career in Brazilian higher education, particularly about changes and difficulties related to professional development, was discussed in studies such as Isaias and Bolzan (2007), Huberman (2007), Behrens (2012), Pimenta (2012), D'Ávila (2013), Dias and Veiga (2013), Taffarel (2013) and Melo and others (2013).

For D'Ávila (2013), teaching performance is characterized by the set of skills, abilities, knowledge, capabilities, and attitudes developed throughout the professionalization process. It concerns the identity construction of teachers, when taking into consideration a given historical moment and the pedagogical, professional, socio-cultural, and political contexts. The difficulties faced by teachers in terms of career orientation may be associated with the country's new educational context, since many teachers when they begin their careers in higher education, encounter a hostile environment to develop their strategies. One of these hardships is having to teach other fields of knowledge, different from their technical knowledge or titling, without any previous experience in the pedagogical field. The outcome of such is "professional strain, dissatisfaction felt by both the students and the professionals themselves" (D'Ávila, 2013, p. 20).

According to Taffarel (2013), the quality of higher education, including EFs, depends, among other factors, on the (re)consideration of their careers when considering the changes generated by/in these institutions. Another relevant issue when analyzing teaching in EFs in the economic-financial aspect, since teachers often need to subject themselves to market practices, acting and adjusting to cost reduction efforts, student

attraction, the system's efficiency increase, the scientific efficiency increase (academic productivism) related to external evaluations, among other individuals of this type of organization.

Regarding the new context of Brazilian education, the studies conducted by Sampaio (2011) provide an extensive problematization on the direction of the higher education model when confronted with commercialization and the loss of teaching quality. More importantly, the changes appear have put the country in the global dynamics, where the so-called Entrepreneurial Universities, proposed by Clark (1998, 2015), attempted to characterize student-centered higher education institutions, prioritizing relations with the market to fortify their profitability objectives.

From a critical perspective, Slaughter and Leslie (1997, 2001) suggest that the investment from the private sector in educational institutions has inaugurated the so-called academic capitalism. Several studies have enlisted the risks of this model focused on the commodification of education (Maués, 2010; Mok, 2015), with negative consequences for identity formation (Henry, 2011) and satisfaction with the teaching career (Burke et al., 2015; Clandinin et al., 2015; Hong et al., 2017, 2018; Lam and Yan, 2011; Tang, 2011).

2. Method

The present research consists of an exploratory and qualitative study to understand the career orientations of EFs teachers. This approach was chosen because it seeks to deepen the research problem and not generalize the data. To select this type of institution, the following characteristics were met: 1) generally speaking, they are organized in small colleges, giving priority to teaching and with few actions in research and extension; 2) were recently found and, consequentially, are not socially acknowledged by the relevance of the service offered; 3) operate in small and medium-sized cities in the country's interior; 4) do not provide career plans – in the traditional sense – and most teachers are hired as hourly wage workers, dividing their professional activity with other income sources; and 5) are more affected by market swings.

To gather information, nine interviews were conducted with teachers of EFs located in the northern region of the state of Rio Grande do Sul (Table 1). The context in which the interviews were conducted is particularly important because the new cycle of expansion of Higher Education in Brazil, which began in the 2000s, included regions that are far from large centers, especially medium-sized cities. INEP (2015) show that these regions were the ones that received the most from this type of teaching institutions, establishing a significant number of teachers. Their choice was based on the possibility of access by the researchers, characterizing the choice of the interviewees as a matter of convenience. Considering the saturation criterion, the information collection process was interrupted when the responses started to get repeated, in other words, the interviewees were not adding more relevant information to answer the research problem.

Table 1
Profile of respondents

Inter.	Age	Sex	Training	Teaching time	Work regime
1	46	Female	Pedagogy	4 years	Part-time
2	27	Female	Agronomy	2 years	Part-time
3	27	Male	Accounting Sciences	3 years	Part-time
4	32	Female	Accounting Sciences	3 years	Part-time
5	40	Female	Administration	15 years	Full-time
6	30	Male	Agronomy	4 years	Part-time
7	48	Female	Psychology	12 years	Part-time
8	28	Male	Administration	2 years	Part-time
9	23	Male	Administration	3 years	Part-time

Note. Outlined by authors (2020) based on survey data.

The interviews were conducted using a semi-structured interview script, based on the theoretical framework that serves as guidance for this study. The information collection, with a mean duration of 90 minutes, took place in neutral environments such as offices and libraries, avoiding the interviewee's institutional teaching environment. The interviews were recorded – with the consent of the participants – for posterior transcription. The data collection followed the ethical standards and regulations required in national and international scientific research.

Content analysis was used as an information analysis technique (Bardin, 2011). After a fluctuating reading of the interviews, the information was organized in the categories established beforehand, according to the research's objective and theoretical reference.

3. Results

The fluctuating reading of the interviews allowed the emergence of four categories of analysis: a) career perception by teachers; b) the difficult adjustment between subjects provided by the EFs and the subjects of the teacher's field of knowledge; c) the quest for strategies outside teaching to augment workload; and d) Personal investment in qualification to increase employability.

3.1. Career perception: the quest for autonomy and flexibility in EFs

In the perspective of Interviewee 1, the teacher has a social role in society, regardless of how idealistic that notion, because “we deal with subjectivities, with life trajectories and training, allowing the student to access information to turn that into knowledge”. Interviewee 8 identifies the social role of the teacher, because, according to him, “a long time ago, a teacher had a punctual job-teaching and, today, we need to train professionals who are properly prepared for the job market”. In his view, the work of the teacher “is something that shatters knowledge barriers, shatters the barriers between people” (Interviewee 8). Therefore, teaching has an important impact on people's lives, since the teacher “builds knowledge in the people who are taught by him, thus changing their lives” (Interviewee 9).

These reports show that teaching is chosen by the social contribution involved in it – not for a lack of job options or to complete an idle workload. The social impact of teaching corroborates professional achievement, as emphasized by Interviewee 2: “I even considered other areas, but I don't know if I could be professionally fulfilled in other areas. For me, teaching is the profession; it's not a; it is 'the'; the definite article; it's my profession”. This report reveals that teaching is not focused on students only, but on the acknowledgment of a profession and the professional achievement of these same teachers.

In addition to the social impact, education is also perceived as a cause given the Brazilian educational scenario. For Interviewee 1, this context presents “some frailties that come from basic education. As we speak, higher education institutions make their selection process, but we receive students who have significant limitations in terms of knowledge, autonomy, writing construction process, cognitive structure, expression, world reading”. These situations turn the teacher into “a fighter” (Interviewee 1). Thus, aware of her social role, but also the weaknesses of the educational system, the teacher's challenge “is to ensure that the student does not finish the course like they have started it” (Interviewee 1).

Autonomy and flexibility in teaching are regarded as aspects of the teacher's effort in the classroom when conducting the subjects, although classes have a menu and a schedule, as Interviewee 7 reports: “I do my planning and I prepare myself, I organize myself to teach, and that does not imply not having autonomy”. Interviewee 6 further highlights this issue:

I cannot work without flexibility. The flexibility to act within the classroom. I'm the one who is there and no one better than the teacher to know what needs and can be done. We have a work plan, course planning, a lesson plan, since all those are didactically essential, but also adds the factor of the unexpected, which is more important now for the person's training. Flexibility is needed. (Interviewee 6)

Teachers emphasize the importance of autonomy in teaching and support this idea in the freedom to establish the content to be taught in the classroom. Therefore, Interviewee 3 affirms: “I think we would be plastered if we

had a workbook". The interviewees stress that they have the autonomy to teach the class because "content is quite unrestricted" (Interviewee 6).

The teacher's work targets the students' teaching-learning process and, for this to be accomplished properly, the dynamicity of this process must be taken into consideration. Therefore, the teacher assumes autonomy as an inherent element in the teaching profession, thus being socially acknowledged. Interviewee 5 reports that she has refused a job opportunity to focus herself on teaching, since the latter gives her autonomy as a career condition:

That is why I'm teaching. When I realized that I was stuck in a factory, I had to say no that. Not because of the work environment or the content of the work itself, but that routine of sitting there, having to stay there all the time, not having any flexibility, was bothering me. (Interviewee 5)

3.2. Subjects offered versus subjects in the field of knowledge

The second aspect evidenced in the interviews is related to the frustration felt with the subjects provided by the EFs, often opposed and outside the teacher's field of basic knowledge and training. Interviewee 7 emphasizes this perception when she states that "all subjects are from my field of knowledge! I don't accept any subject that is not related to it. I never accepted it, not even at the beginning stages of my career". Teachers value subjects that are related to their expertise or that can contribute to expanding the knowledge in their specialty, as reported by Interviewee 5:

I never accepted anything that was disconnected [from my training], absolutely not. But, for instance, I was once a teacher of financial mathematics. I'm not in the finance field, but my background is in engineering and it helps me in that direction. I've never taught classes for something entirely disassociated with that, not at all, maybe I have been lucky. (Interviewee 5)

Likewise, Interviewee 1 adds the issue of the challenge itself and the continuous learning process by reporting that by teaching the same "subjects, you keep devising your journey, you will be maturing and improving your practice within that field of knowledge, but also has the aspect of newness, you are also seeking new challenges and continue to learn".

The dilemma was also reported by the interviewee 2, who report the insecurity involved in teaching a subject that is not his field of knowledge: "it's not easy, it's challenging. You must both study and teach the class. This issue emerges because it is not an area that people dominate" (Interviewee 2). Teachers repeatedly reported their insecurity to accept new subjects, such as interviewee 4: "no matter how much you have dedicated to it, your safety is no longer the same". A similar insecurity has also been reported about the workload, making it clear that the work is quite unstable and can undergo changes from one semester to another, depending on the context:

I had two classes, in the first semester of this year I had five, so they gave me more classes, which represented a major curriculum change, some subjects I used to teach were extinct, it was necessary to readjust the different classes, I have three right now, as for the next semester, as far as I'm concerned, I will continue with those three. (Interviewee 8)

3.3. Executive roles to complement workload

A third hardship reported by EFs teachers is related to the possibility of assuming the position of the course coordinator. This decision may be understood as contrary to the development of the teaching career. Taking up an executive management role in an EF is seen by teachers as something secondary, but often necessary to increase workload. Interviewee 2 reports that, since many teachers are hourly wage workers, "that instability is always there". For the teacher to remain attached to the institution, the possibility of assuming a course coordination role emerges. This instability generates a high turnover in the position of course coordinator:

Since I have joined the institution, this is already the third coordinator in charge. It's quite unstable. And the coordination job is vacant every other day. I don't know how long the current coordinator is going to stay, but I don't know if I would have that need, right now, to assume that position. (Interviewee 2)

Based on the previous report, it is possible to discern that the coordination role is not a strategic position in a teaching career, but a position to which a teacher submits to remain in the teaching environment and be available for the next teaching opportunity, since "coordination is a temporary step.

For me, my goal is teaching and within teaching is [to develop] extension projects, research projects that are related [to the teaching activity]". (Interviewee 1)

Low wages obtained from the teaching activity also influence the search for management positions in the institution. Interviewee 7 reported that "right now, teaching does not give me any remuneration. It's quite low. Coordination doesn't pay me well, but several times, it is more than teaching itself". Adding the low teaching salary to the uncertainty of the number of classes per semester, the respondents look at the opportunity to develop several different activities.

It was also asserted that one of the strategies to increase income is to maintain, even as a secondary activity, activities as a freelancer, alongside teaching itself. Interviewee 2 states that "as an extra activity, I work at home with licensing procedures" and Interviewee 4 works "in two [teaching] institutions and as a business accountant". Interviewee 1 reports: "I work in basic education, in public schools, I'm a public servant of the state government and I have a private activity as a clinical psychologist. Sporadically, I'm a teacher invited to postgraduate courses from another institution".

Interviewee 1, Interviewee 7 reports several activities:

I work as a consultant (...) I always thought that the eggs should put in several baskets. I have always combined several sources of income: the fixed, the variable of consultancy efforts, and the occasional training, but I find it easier to continue teaching in the future than staying in consulting for the rest of my life.

The fact that the researched teachers are involved in different activities may be related to the uncertainty of the number of subjects they will teach in the next semester, as Interviewee 8 reports:

I had two classes. In the first half of this year, I had five. They gave me more classes this semester. What happened was a readjustment of the classes. I have three. For the next semester, I'm going to continue with those three.

In the meantime, even when considering the weaknesses of teaching in EFs, teachers express the willingness to be aligned with organizational values, seeking admission and a sense of belongingness in their work. The interviewed teachers reported being knowledgeable about the values and mission of the EFs in which they work, and they remain there because the institutional values are in line with their values, as Interviewee 1 reports:

In our policies, both with the new teachers and with the teachers who already work there, and those who have been there since the early days of the institution, we have a continuous training policy and, under this policy, the mission and values are always reviewed, remembered and recalled. I follow them because I agree with them. Among the many things, I always pondered as a teacher, before higher education, is that the quality of teaching must prevail. Therefore, within the values, the quality of teaching, to excel in the student's well-being, in research, in their engagement in projects, in their connection with theory and practice, not leaving everything to the end of the course, to the internships... All this is cross-sectional, it is part of our policies.

3.4. Search for qualifications to increase employability

The master's and postgraduate degrees are regarded as an investment in career development, as Interviewee 1 reports:

I understand that a higher education institution needs professional researchers, good teachers, but, at the same time, there is also the issue of titling, which makes me think of career progression, to make an investment in a postgraduate degree, so that, as I increase my knowledge, specializing myself, I can also contribute to the higher education institution, becoming valuable to it. (Interviewed 1)

These reports show that teachers have the intention to increase their specialization, through their masters and postgraduate degrees, to ensure they remain part of the institution, since these degrees filter people who will stay in higher education; not anyone who can be a teacher. The higher the vertical qualification (master's and postgraduate degree), the greater the employability chances. Interviewee 8 reports that, in talks with his co-workers and teachers who are part of HEIs, he realized that:

some have already received an invitation from other institutions, others already work in different institutions. I see them growing... it's not an overnight thing, of course. That happens throughout the professional career. (Interviewee 8)

Briefly put, the analysis of the interviews revealed that teachers look for subjects in their field of knowledge and those that increase the knowledge in their training, as well as the specialization of knowledge and improvement by teaching the same subject repeatedly. The teacher who completes the master's and postgraduate degrees can develop scientific research efforts, therefore being acknowledged as a teacher and in their field of knowledge. Taking on executive roles is regarded as a temporary opportunity to increase the volume of hours in the EF and remain in the teaching career. The Table 2 sorts the categories and their empirical evidence.

Table 2
Synthesis of career guidance for EFs teachers

Category	Conceptualization	Empirical evidence
Career Perception	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Social role in professional training. Knowledge building. Profession-related challenges. Professional achievement. Autonomy and flexibility. 	<p><i>"We need to train professionals who are properly prepared for the job market".</i></p> <p><i>"The teacher builds knowledge in the people who are taught by him, thus changing their lives".</i></p> <p><i>"Higher education institutions make their selection process, but we receive students who have significant limitations in terms of knowledge, autonomy, writing construction process, cognitive structure, expression, world reading".</i></p> <p><i>"For me, teaching is the profession; it's not a; it is 'the'; definite article; it's my profession".</i></p> <p><i>"That is why I'm teaching. When I realized that I was stuck in a factory, I had to say no that. Not because of the work environment or the content of the work itself, but that routine of sitting there, having to stay there all the time, not having any flexibility, was bothering me".</i></p>
Offer of subjects vs field of knowledge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Subjects that broaden the knowledge in the field of activity. Insecurity when teaching a subject outside their training. Conduct more than one activity and/or work in more than one HEI. Uncertainty regarding the number of subjects. 	<p><i>"By teaching the same subjects, you keep devising your journey, you will be maturing and improving your practice within that field of knowledge, but also has the aspect of newness, you are also seeking new challenges and continue to learn".</i></p> <p><i>"No matter how much you have dedicated to it, your safety is no longer the same".</i></p> <p><i>"I don't accept any subject that is not related to it".</i></p> <p><i>"I had two classes. In the first half of this year, I had five. As for the next semester, I'm going to continue with those three".</i></p>
Executive roles vs. teaching	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Perception of organizational stability Acting in parallel work effort Executive roles to increase working hours at an HEI. The search for coherence between the institutional and the teacher's values. 	<p><i>"Since I have joined the institution, this is already the third coordinator in charge. It's quite unstable".</i></p> <p><i>"Right now, teaching does not give me any remuneration. It's quite low. Coordination doesn't pay me well, but several times, it is more than teaching itself".</i></p> <p><i>"I work in basic education, in public schools, I'm a public servant of the state government and I have a private activity".</i></p> <p><i>"I follow the [organizational values] because I agree with them".</i></p>
Qualification to increase employability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Investment in titling (Master's and postgraduate degrees) to increase employability. 	<p><i>"All the coordinators already have a master's degree, some are already [studying] postgraduate subjects".</i></p> <p><i>"So that, as I increase my knowledge, specializing myself, I can also contribute to the higher education institution, becoming valuable to it".</i></p>

The analysis of the interviews with the teachers brought evidence that the EFs do not offer the structure for them to have a traditional career in the sense of security and stability to develop their profession in these institutions. It was observed that several teachers work in other institutions or have other parallel and complementary professional activities for financial increase and to reduce salary instability. While analyzing the interviews, it was possible to discern those teachers are looking for stability, but they cannot find space for it in EFs. It was established that most teachers have other activities, suggesting that these institutions do not provide much-needed security for their teaching career in a comprehensive way. The reports show that the strategy of taking part in strict sense programs and management positions seems like a strategy for the expansion of that bond, in which teaching is the key element for a career definition.

It has also been shown that teachers intend to be a reference in the fields in which they work and feel appreciated, challenged, and acknowledged by the effort they commit to their training subjects or related areas. EFs teachers understand that technical aptitude is an important skill for career affirmation, revealing, yet again, that the great focus of the career is centered on the activity performed inside the classroom.

The frustration of not finding space for career development in an EF institution requires a permanent need to adapt their career perception with the reality and working conditions provided by those institutions. These conclusions are in tune with the results of D'Ávila (2013) and Taffarel (2013) on the negative effects that subjects outside the field of knowledge cause in the satisfaction related to teaching work.

In a broader sense, the study provided evidence that EFs do not offer a favorable working environment for the development of a traditional career, nor do they encourage the protean model. The interviews also showed the teachers' perceptions about the uncertainty regarding the maintenance of the workload, the scarce space for conducting research and the fragile links with the institution. These perceptions illustrate that teachers' career expectations are associated with the traditional model.

These conclusions point towards Fontanelle's proposition (2005), for whom career, previously related to joining a stable company, with room for development, rewarding, stability and, above all, a sense of belonging to a 'community', gives space to 'self-management', geared towards the 'psychological successes' of individuals who are responsible for their personal and professional development. Faced with this, people do not perceive themselves as leading self-directed careers, showing that, while the traditional concept is based on loyalty as the basis for growth, the new model offers only opportunities for skill development.

Therefore, it is observed that the relationship between the teachers' objectives and EFs strategies is flawed, suggesting the weakening of the bonds in a medium and long-term perspective (Bendassolli, 2009). This study's empirical evidence also indicates that the nature of the work bonds in Brazilian EFs follows a trend already emphasized in international studies on the negative effects of the work structure on teacher identity formation (Henry 2011) and on teacher career satisfaction (Burke et al., 2015; Clandinin et al., 2015; Eagan et al., 2015; Hong et al., 2017, 2018; Lam and Yan 2011; Tang, 2011).

This risk can be discerned in the criticism of the lack of support for the activities mentioned by Interviewee 5, who have 15 years of teaching experience, and has been working full-time in an EF for three years now:

I'm responsible for my career and I have to publish three articles a year. Regardless of research efforts, whether I have research-devoted hours or not, you have to sort thing out for yourself, it's your career, you're going to publish the work no matter what. They tell you to be responsible for your career, but this is a negative side, because we are going to deal with different areas: if I want my employee to improve, I provide them with the conditions for that. And we have to start a career on our own, teach eight different classes, TCCs, and publications, without having hours for research. How can we produce and publish work without any specific time for that [hours of research]? (Interviewed 5)

4. Conclusions

The main objective of this study was to understand the dilemmas encountered by EFs teachers, to comprehend if career orientations are closer to the traditional model or the protean perspective. Among the main conclusions, it should be noted that the teachers interviewed do not receive enough structure from the EFs to develop a traditional teaching career. On the other hand, the analysis of the orientation of teaching careers showed that they cannot be considered protean, as put by Hall and Mirvis (1996) and Hall (2002). The evidence does not suggest that the concept of traditional career has been surpassed, especially when taking into consideration that the teachers interviewed perceive, conceptualize, and qualify their autonomy, flexibility, and independence from the institutional frameworks and the context of these EFs.

Therefore, the study reached its objectives by providing material for understanding career perceptions in the context of EFs. Among the research limitations is the difficulty of presenting wide-ranging and generalizable conclusions since these institutions do not comprise a homogeneous field. In other words, there is a wide variation of management models, size, market positioning, organizational culture, and competitive strategies. This makes it difficult to assess the teaching career from a generalized standpoint, since perceptions are associated with the current bond. This study did not consider and did not qualify the management model of the EF regarding the teachers' performance, which may be a suggestion for future studies.

Other studies may expand data collection and compare the differences between EFs, equating their human resources policies, and organizational values to understand their positioning about the career models suggested in the literature. A specific point to be studied is an eventual difference in perceptions between teachers with a full-time job with teachers on a part-time basis. This study found no differences, but it is important to consider that only one of the nine respondents had the condition of full-time work. In another perspective, further in-depth studies with teachers are suggested, focused on psychodynamics and meanings of work, trying to show the importance of being a teacher in the lives of these workers. There is evidence of psychic struggles generated by organizational overload and instability and by the work context itself. The literature on this subject is vast, but the subject has been barely explored in the context of EFs.

Finally, this study sheds light on a brand-new work context, revealing its complexity. In fact, the answers comprise elements of a positive and negative order, proving that EFs offer opportunities for a career start, but also instability, insecurity, and frustration. The managerial implications of these conclusions must consider this complexity, suggesting strategic policies and practices to provide a development environment that allows teachers to invest in their careers, either traditional or with a protean tendency.

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